RESEARCH PROPOSAL

Reporting in Indian Print Media from the Conflict Zone of Jammu and Kashmir

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Submitted by

Malvika Kaul

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Under the Supervision of

Dr Aastha Saxena

Assistant Professor, Department of Journalism & Mass Communication

The IIS University, Jaipur (Rajasthan)

Department of Journalism and Mass Communication

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Introduction

Media coverage in the conflict zone

India has witnessed a surge in news media agencies and a dramatic growth in technological advances in the last three decades. From a single state owned channel Doordarshan in the 1990s there are more than 400 active channels in the country today. Unlike other major democracies in the West, India continues to witness close to 14% growth rate in the print industry, with maximum growth in circulation in Hindi newspapers. According to consulting firm Pricewaterhouse Coopers (PwC), India's media and entertainment industry is set to grow at a faster pace of 10.55% Compound Annual Growth Rate (CAGR), outshining the global average of 4.2% CAGR. (Bothun and Vollmer, 2017)

In India, a variety of media offer news and opinion to a diverse audience. Post-liberalisation, since the 1990s, Indian media has grown rapidly and exponentially, offering a plethora of channels, newspapers and formats for news. This media "explosion" has been diverse and maintained a largely free press that has often exposed corruption in high places and challenged the powerful. Yet, the media's focus on politics, cricket and celebrity, or 'infotainment' prevents reportage of more significant issues like poverty, conflict, and development. (Painter, 2003)

The last few decades have witnessed rise in conflicts, some of which continue till date. The internal armed conflicts and insurgencies in states like Manipur, Nagaland, Assam, Chhattisgarh and the prolonged conflict in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) are not similar to each other and each situation demands deeper understanding of the complex cultural matrix of the state where the conflict occurs.(Nanavatty, 2013) Media can play a role in drawing attention to a range of conflict issues - secession, illegal immigrants and ethnic clashes as news media continues to influence, directly and indirectly, public opinion on several critical issues. However, media has so far been partially effective in this endeavour.

Coverage of the conflict zones appears to have been limited and inadequate, and largely confined to reporting of violent clashes between the government forces and rebels. Media sees conflicts primarily in military terms and tends to be ethnocentric in its coverage. Narratives from the conflict zone appear to ignore people's voices and fail to document the complexities on ground.

Conflict-sensitive reporting can go a long way in putting the spotlight on a grave situation, like it did with the extensive coverage of the naked demonstration by women protesting the gang rape and killing of Monorama Devi by armed forces in Manipur in 2004. Media succeeded in voicing the anger and frustration of people from Manipur, exhibiting their deep sense of alienation from mainstream India. But considering that in many Northeast states issues of conflict continue to simmer, the reportage on them is negligible. The apathy of news media, even to the violence in the Northeast states, is stark and consistent. (Mukhopadhyay, 2015)

Media coverage from Kashmir

The Kashmir conflict is close to 70 years. Undoubtedly, J&K is better reported as a region of conflict but from a narrow security prism. Cases of human rights violations in Kashmir have largely come to the fore due to the consistent efforts of the media in challenging the state's version of violent events. There is also a rising concern about the freedom of press in the conflict zone. Press freedom in states like J&K has always been a challenge. According to a 2018 report by Reporters Without Borders, India has slipped to 138 from 136 in the Press Freedom Index among a pool of 180 nations. Conflict-ridden countries like Afghanistan, Palestine and Myanmar have fared better. One specific contributor to this poor position is the lack of press freedom in conflict-affected states like J&K. The J&K government and the central government, through various paramilitary forces, attempt to muzzle the press. Simultaneously, separatist and militant organisations also exert pressure on the media. In Kashmir, both separatists and security forces mistrust journalists, preventing them from accessing truth or distorting the facts to serve their interests.

Journalists have also been vulnerable while reporting conflict issues – they face threats, are kidnapped and even killed. In Kashmir, both separatists and security forces mistrust journalists, preventing them from accessing truth or distorting the facts to serve their interests. Since 1990, 19 journalists have died (including Rising Kashmir editor Shujaat Bukhari on 14 June 2018). These journalists have been killed either by militants, state police or the Indian army. Kashmir continues to be a very dangerous place to report from for a journalist.

Further, while growth of media outlets has spurred competition, increased readership and viewership, it has not necessarily led to the enhancement of professionalisation of news reportage or expansion of the 'watchdog role' of journalists. Further, it appears that mainstream media in India does not invest enough in newsgathering resources nor in supporting a culture of covering conflict as a dynamic process. In addition, there seems to be no significant attempt by mainstream media organisations to create a framework for conflict reporting, to encourage quality research and inculcate an investigative approach.

Reporting conflict can be both challenging and expensive. Political affiliations, personal biases and lack of training can prevent objective recording and analysis of issues. Texts and images of conflict in the media appear to reflect both bias and misconceptions about the challenges people in the conflict zone face. Further, unlike foreign media, Indian media does not appear well trained for conflict sensitive reportage.

Area of research

The proposed study attempts to investigate the frameworks used for reporting by news workers in the conflict zone of Jammu and Kashmir, and how far their coverage aggravates or diffuses conflict and transforms public discourse. The study aims to focus on the nature of the agency of the news media in the state of Jammu and Kashmir in the year 2017.

This study gains significance as India continues to witness prolonged internal conflicts in states like Assam, Manipur and Jammu and Kashmir, apart from armed Naxal resistance in at least seven states. Such conflicts have led to the loss of lives, human rights violations, displacement, loss of security, and in many cases, disruption of cultural and religious identity of people.

Media reports indicate that in the year 2017 close 55 civilians, 220 militants and 78 security forces were killed in various incidents of violence in Kashmir. The year 2017 proved deadliest of all years since 2010. Several news workers reported the violence more as 'law and order situations' or as 'war' between two parties – the centre and the rebels – often spoon-fed by security agencies and influenced by political interests. News media failed to offer insight to

audience/readers of the roots – which may be conflicting ideas of development and progress, secessionism, regional autonomy – and progress of the conflicts.

This study will examine the density of coverage from the conflict zone, the frameworks and narratives used to explain events and the value such representation establishes. The study is also an attempt to capture individual agency of the journalists who report from the conflict zone of J&K and define the frameworks of news.

Accurate and responsible reporting can contribute to good governance and democratic development. In India, research exploring the connection between media, conflict and democracy is still developing. This study is an attempt to explore the opportunities media has in shaping the conflict and stirring democratic processes for resolutions.

Theoretical framework

The crucial role played by media in transforming public opinion and changing the course of conflict by exposing human suffering was first discussed during the Vietnam War. News coverage of this war changed the way people looked at conflict and the way people perceived media's role in shaping opinion from war to peace.

In recent years, there has been a growing debate about the objectivity of conflict reportage and the critical and even constructive role media can play in conflict resolution. Media's responsibility in conflict reportage came under scrutiny during the Bosnian war. While highlighting the suffering of people, media was accused of create a simplistic narrative of the conflict that forced military intervention from the outside. From mere bystanders of conflict, 'attached' journalists became 'savours' of victims of the conflict, evoking the criticism that this attachment often got substituted with partisanship.

From the traditional focus of 'detached and impartial' reportage, a new approach of 'Journalism of Attachment' has gained significant attention in reportage culture. Should journalists go beyond their role of simply being 'transmission vehicles' for government or rebel sources in a conflict zone and document the human suffering that may entail taking sides? Are journalists, "morally

obliged", as BBC broadcaster Martin Bell put, to distinguish between "good" and "evil" in conflict zones? (Fraser, 2006)

Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung's theory of Peace Journalism advocates reportage that consciously reduces differences to prevent further conflict and promotes reconciliation and resolution. Conflict coverage is classified as 'war journalism' or 'peace journalism' – the former focusing on exposing the 'enemy', presenting propaganda as news and is preoccupied with reporting clashes while the latter explores common ground, exposes untruths on all sides, and is largely focussed on people's suffering. War journalism focuses on violence and appears to ignore the structural origins of the conflict. Peace journalism, on the other hand, uses a wider canvas of investigation whereby editors and reporters choose stories that enhance conceptual understanding of the reader/audience and create opportunities to towards peace resolution. (Galtung, 2006)

Building on Galtung's work, media practioners and researchers Lynch and McGoldrick have presented three ways in which news from the conflict zone can fuel further violence: A bias for official sources, a bias in favour of event/episode over process, and a bias for 'dualism' in reporting conflicts. In fact they argue that these three "conventions of Objective reporting" are more inclined towards War Journalism. This kind of reportage, they argue, leaves the readers/audience a tendency to "over-value violent, reactive responses to conflict, and under-value non-violent, developmental ones". (McGoldrick, 2006)

This theory of explores media's role in influencing public opinion towards peaceful solutions to conflict or, media's role in conflict transformation. A critical aspect of this theory is the frameworks journalists employ to report from the conflicts zone. My study will examine such frameworks in order to understand the objectives and biases of such reporting and if it has any impact on the escalation or reduction of the conflicts. It will also research the 'preventive'stance of the journalist — by writing editorials and columns, through debates — focussing on reconciliation, emphasizing the invisible effects of violence on people.

Organisations like UNESCO have been supporting initiatives that focus on frameworks for sensitive reporting of conflict zones. The value of such reportage or lack of it was demonstrated in Rwanda in the mid-1990s, when the broadcasts of local radio station (Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines) resulted in promoting an atmosphere of racial hatred.

(Smith, 2003). Despite the plethora of media organisations in India, news coverage of conflict-ridden regions is limited. It is in this context, the study purports to analyses the phenomena using the following research questions and hypotheses.

Operational definitions

Conflict : “In a conflict you stand for something, you yearn for it but you have a feeling that there is something — whatever it may be — that makes it impossible for others to listen to it; you have a voice but they don't have an ear and whatever you say is twisted into unrecognition, and if you experience that over a period of let us say fifty years you may become tired and you may get the feeling that it doesn't matter the slightest, and you may just as well get violent because that seems to be the only language they understand.” (Galtung, 2000)

Media frame: ‘The central organising idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration. ..Framing is more concerned with how issues or other objects (people, groups, organisations, countries, etc.) are depicted in the media than with which issues or objects are more or less prominently reported. It focuses on the most salient or prominent aspects or themes or descriptions of the objects of interest...Framing includes a broader range of cognitive processes such as moral evaluations, causal reasoning, appeals to principles, and recommendation for treatment of problems. Framing is about efforts at making sense of an issue.” (Weaver, 2007)

News: “News is a construct: it is a version of reality shaped in significant part by journalistic norms and conventions. Through the frames they employ and the gatekeeping role they play, journalists help to shape public opinion and debate.” (Thomas E. Patterson,1998)

Agency: “It is the condition of activity rather than passivity. It refers to the experience of acting, doing things, making things happen, exerting power, being a subject of events, or controlling things.” (Martin Hewson, 2010)

Journalism of Attachment: “An approach to reporting, born of the war in former Yugoslavia, which argues that journalists should record the human and emotional costs of war rather than acting as ‘transmission vehicles’ for governmental or military sources”. (Nickel, 2009)

Review of Literature

In recent decades, several media scholars have explored the connection and impact of media coverage on the progress of ongoing conflicts. Post- Second World War, there has been a focus on locating media's role as a catalyst and influencer in self determination movements and armed struggle for autonomy in various parts of the world. Researchers have been studying the roots of conflict in Africa, Asia, Middle East and Europe and determining the influence of media both as transmitters of change and as catalysts of violence. Since mid-1990s, especially after the war in Bosnia, the debate about media coverage escalating conflict has expanded. There have been attempts in different countries, especially those experiencing conflict, to investigate how media can include the idea and perspective of conflict transformation in its coverage. In particular, researchers are exploring how news frameworks can be used by journalists to cover conflicts in a more sensitive way that result in resolutions and prevent further conflict.

While reviewing available literature, I focussed on understanding conflict as a concept. How researchers have defined and explained it. Equally important was is to understand how ethnic, ideological or religious conflict has shaped political, economic and social events across the globe. Further, I reviewed how media has reported conflict in J&K over the years.

Existing literature indicates that frameworks for news in a conflict zone have not been sufficiently explored. Nor has there been substantial evidence documented to refute or support the theories of 'peace journalism'. There is insufficient body of work on the critical relationship between media coverage and its impact on the conflict. Literature review indicates wide gaps in the knowledge and ideas regarding this phenomena. Below are reviews of literature by the researcher for proposed research.

Books

1. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* - Donald L Horowitz

Horowitz, Donald L (1985) explains in this work how ethnic affiliations are the primary source of most conflicts. He is concerned with theories and patterns of ethnic violence, which he asserts

is a worldwide phenomena. He maps ethnic violence across Asia and Africa and compares them with conflicts in Europe and North America. Examining recurrent hostilities in Northern Ireland, Chad, Lebanon, secessionist warfare in Burma, Bangladesh, mass killings in India and Pakistan, Horowitz traces the roots, growth and escalation of conflicts. He helps understand ethnic violence and presents case studies of experiments with conflict reduction in some democracies. He particularly focuses on Asian and African countries, many of whom struggled against colonialism and post independence have experienced recurrent ethnic violence. Horowitz gives a historical perspective on ethnic conflicts, providing a basic understanding on how ethnic domination is linked to assertion of political power and operation of democracy. Book defines conflict and its roots but does not shed light on media's role in armed conflict.

***2. Media, Communication, Culture: A Global Approach* - James Lull**

Lull, James (2000) offers a fresh introduction to media, communication and cultural studies, assembling his experiences from living in places like China and Brazil. Author explains complex concepts like hegemony, post-modernism, globalization, symbolic power, popular culture. He examines the forces of structure and agency in contemporary media, communication, and culture. Lull argues that media effects are not absolute but asserts that audience is often driven by consumerist choices. He also examines the connection between mass audience and mass society by exploring how media propaganda contributed to rise of fascism in Europe. The book offers new understanding of communication and mass media in global society. It does not explain what global forces impact coverage of conflict.

***3. Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace* - Sumantra Bose**

Bose, Sumantra (2003), while offering a historical overview of the crisis of Kashmir, examines how the Kashmir conflict has proved to be a grave threat to South Asia's peace and to global security. He gives an account of several developments in Kashmir that represent the ethnonationalistic sentiment of the people of Kashmir. Bose analyses the forces that led to the crisis and attempts to offer frameworks for peace building, extensively quoting from the Northern Ireland peace process as an example of how conflict can be resolved in the future. Book gives better understanding of Kashmir crisis but fails to provide links between media coverage and prolonged conflict in the state.

4. *War and the Media: Reporting Conflict 24X7*- Thussu, D.K., & Freedman, D. (Eds.)

Thussu and co. (2003), through a series of essays, demonstrate how conflict is framed and represented in the media. They integrate media theory and journalistic practice, with essays from leading scholars and observations from established journalists. A crucial area of inquiry of this book is how media's role in covering conflict has changed in the last few decades, especially after the end of Cold War. Thussu and co. examine how the watchdog role of media is both being emphasised and challenged since 2000. They question the journalists' role in appearing like patriots, ignoring ideological alternatives and eventually bounding discussions rather than widening the discourse around conflict. Thussu and co. assert that market led media often ignores dissenting voices. Book offers insight on the interplay between the media and its representations of war. But there is no specific insight on Indian media.

5. *Our Moon has Blood Clots: The Exodus of the Kashmiri Pandits* - Rahul Pandita

Pandita, Rahul (2013) chronicles the exodus of Kashmiri Pandits in the 1990s from the Kashmir Valley. As a victim, and as a journalist, Pandita captures the misery and tragedies suffered by the people of Kashmir in the 1990s when militancy forced many to flee their own state. Pandita's work is significant in putting spotlight on an area of Kashmir conflict that for years has been ignored. The book deepens understanding of the Kashmir crisis and points towards media's failure in reporting diverse narratives of the conflict. Book focuses on an aspect of conflict that is neglected, thus highlighting the critical role media can play in diverse narrative presentation of conflict.

6. *The Nellie Massacre of 1983: Agency of Rioters* - Makiko Kimura

Kimura, Makiko (2013) offers fresh perspective on the Nellie massacre of 1983 that killed nearly 2,000 Muslim peasants. Kimura examines the roots of the prolonged conflict over land between the local Assamese and the 'outsiders', people who came primarily from East Bengal (later Bangladesh). Her book scrutinises the agency of rioters, explaining the factors that forced them into violent action. Most scholarship and reportage on communal violence has been successful in capturing the narrative of victims. Kimura's book shifts the focus on the rioters. She attempts to analyse why ordinary people participate in riots and how they live

with memory of violence.The book provides fresh perspective of an old conflict in Northeast. Media's role in reporting conflict not explored in the book.

7.*Kashmir's Contested Pasts: Narratives, Sacred Geographies, and the Historical Imagination* - Chitralekha Zutshi

Zutshi, Chitralekha (2014) analyses Kashmir's vibrant historical tradition and the ways in which it narrated the idea of Kashmir while studying the various narrative practices such as tazkiras, tarikhs, stories, poetry and plays from the 16th century to the present. She examines the linkages among Sanskrit, Persian, and Kashmiri narratives to explore the ideas of Kashmir and its history. Examining various history writings, the book studies how Kashmir's past was and is produced and consumed in Kashmir through a dialogue with the present. Zutshi explores the politics of the past as manifested in contemporary Kashmir, as history is also an embattled territory. This work is essential in understanding Kashmir's historical culture but offers no insight on representation of the conflict in media.

8. *Family and Kinship: A Study of the Pandits of Rural Kashmir* -T.N.Madan

Madan.T.N. (2015) presents an ethnographic account of a Hindu village in Kashmir in the 1960s. An important sociological study of the Hindu Kashmiris before conflict manifested in various forms the book examines a Hindu household in detail, its size, composition and various functions and responsibilities. Madan presents a dynamic picture of village life in the 1960s in Kashmir. The book is essential in understanding historically the social relationships in Kashmir. Madan offers an understanding about a period in Kashmir that appears peaceful and harmonious. However, this work offers no insights on conflict.

9.*Conflict Resolution in Multi-cultural Societies: The Indian Experience* - Jhumpa Mukherjee

Mukherjee, Jhumpa (2015) presents conflict as a natural process in the creation of new states in the context of Northeast of India. She studies the numerous ongoing movements in Northeast that are demanding political recognition and examines if decentralisation has been able to integrate the diverse cultural identities in the region. Mukherjee argues that in India creating social space for groups and communities is a prerequisite of multicultural accommodation. She emphasises

that India has close to six decades of experience in institutionally containing, harmonising and accommodating ethnicities in a single political framework. Mukherjee asserts that conflict can be considered as an essential part of democratic endeavour. Book does not cover media's responsibility while reporting on insurgency in Northeast India.

10. *Communicating Differences: Culture, Media, Peace and Conflict Negotiation-* Sudeshna Roy & Ibrahim S. Shaw (Eds.)

Roy, Sudeshna and Co. (2015) examine how humans communicate in relationships, between and across cultures, in organisations, in moments of conflict and crisis. The book is a collection of essays on various theories, ideas and methods in culture, media, conflict and peace communication to help understand the process of communicating differences in a world that is torn by conflict. Book offers practical approaches focussing on dealing with conflict and peace issues in areas such as war and peace journalism, mediation/negotiation and human rights. A useful book for understanding how conflict is perceived and defined across cultures. Limited in scope of providing linkages between peace journalism and current media roles.

11. *Blood Red River: A Journey into the Heart of India's Development Conflict -* Rohit Prasad

Prasad, Rohit's (2017) work is an inquiry into role of various stakeholders in the conflict in Chhattisgarh that has its roots in the battle for natural resources in the state. This book focuses on history of the Naxal movement, its rapid growth in the state and the cost of the armed struggle that tribal population has to bear. The author uses the narrative framework of conflict arising out of forced development and resulting in suffering of the tribals. It offers insight into another violent conflict in India that has roots in misplaced development agenda. It has limited concern about how media presents conflict from Chhattisgarh.

Unpublished PhD Theses

1.*Reporting Kashmir: An Analysis of the Conflict Coverage in Indian and Pakistani Newspapers* - Sreedharan Chindu

Chindu, Sreedharan (2009) examines how media coverage in Kashmir in Pakistan and India was counterproductive to peace efforts. He explores the nature of the news coverage accorded to the Kashmir conflict by the Indian and Pakistani press and how has the 'other' been represented in the Indian and Pakistani press? News about Kashmir was negative, or 'anti-peace". He asserts that Indian and Pakistani coverage of the Kashmir insurgency has most likely played a significant role in prolonging the conflict. His research examines how press on both sides created a non-conducive environment for peace attempts. He recommends the need for conflict journalism training for media personnel covering Kashmir. Thesis limited in analysing the linkages between impact of reportage and conflict development. Not exhaustive and expansive in scope.

2.*The Role of Media in Conflict: Integrating Peace Journalism in the Journalism Curriculum*- Ruksana Aslam

Aslam, Ruksana (2014) examines how media influences conflict through news coverage and analysis. Her focus is on framing and agenda-setting of the media. Ruksana explores how peace journalism can offer an alternative narrative to conflict, one which engages with conflict more sensitively and interprets it with the aim to seek resolution. She argues that mainstream media can be used to provide creative solutions to conflict, with synergy between journalists, peace workers and researchers. Ruksana suggests that peace journalism can be integrated into journalism education as a strategy for conflict reduction. Thesis does not present frameworks that journalists can use for conflict resolution in their reporting.

3.*Building Capacity for Conflict-Sensitive Reportage of Elections in Nigeria* - Joseph Olusegun Adebayo

Adebayo, Joseph Olusegun (2015) evaluates the potential of training journalists for conflict-sensitive reportage to ensure non-violent elections in Nigeria. It examines frameworks used by

media during election coverage and to what extent media is responsible for election-related violence in Nigeria. Adebayo reasons that a consistent message in the media with the goal to stir conflict towards resolution can influence the public and mitigate conflict. Thesis confined to Nigerian experience only.

Reports

1. ***Marginal on the Map: Hidden Wars and Hidden Media in Northeast India*- Arijit Sen**

Sen, Arijit (2011) argues that there is a 'wall of silence' regarding most conflicts in northeast India that is scarred by sustained separatist tendencies, ethnic riots and mass agitations. News is under reported and conflict rarely enters national discourse. Even excessive violence and military action does not get adequate coverage, Sen asserts. Regional media is not fully developed in most states of Northeast. In the absence of collaborations between the regional and national media, critical issues of conflict do not find space in mainstream journalism. Most reportage, Sen argues, is based on handouts and army press releases focussing on counter-insurgency activities and less on the issues of conflict. Reports of extra-judicial killings, extortion by insurgency groups, disturbance in educational and health goals have not been flagged by the media.

2. *'Bearing Witness': The Impact of Conflict on Women in Nagaland and Assam*- Sanjoy Hazarika

Hazarika, Sanjoy (2011) studies the struggle of people living in the conflict zone, focussing on the impact of conflict on women in Assam and Nagaland. The study details the structured violence against women in the two states in the aftermath of the insurgency. The report argues that the prolonged conflicts have weakened traditional support systems and institutions of democratic governance. Women have suffered greater trauma in such situations and have been largely neglected in the media coverage.

3. *Conflict Sensitive Journalism: Moving Towards a Holistic Framework*- Michelle Betz

Betz, Michelle (2011) in this repot focuses on effective ways to have clear impact on conflict and to ensure journalists are prepared to cover the conflicts in a challenging and dangerous environment. After the conflicts of the 1990s, journalists, academics and conflict researchers began to consider the role of media in escalating conflict. Two schools of thought emerged: peace journalism, advocated by Johan Galtung and Jake Lynch, and conflict sensitive journalism presented by, Ross Howard. Both focus on the role media must play in finding solutions to conflict.

4. *India Freedom Report: Media Freedom and Freedom of Expression in 2017* - Sevanti Ninan

Ninan, Sevanti (2017) documents various instances of journalists being attacked for their work, thereby presenting the challenges of media working in areas where there is censorship, like in conflict states of J&K. The report details recent events of curtailment of freedom of expression and threats journalists receive while covering events. Ninan however does not demonstrate how media reports from the conflict zone and the frameworks it uses to cover events.

Journal Articles

1. *Good Journalism or Peace Journalism*? - David Loyn

Loyn, David (2007) explores if peace-reporting is less objective and if it serves the purpose of reducing conflict. While examining the traditional journalistic methods of reporting objectively, Loyn argues against the idea of 'journalism of attachment'. Loyn studies media's role and impact when it casts off impartiality and takes sides. Loyn argues that reporting tools have to be sharpened but not altered in order to report from the conflict zone.

2. *Media in Conflict or Conflict in Media: Examining Media Coverage of Conflict in Northeast India* - Roluahpuia

Roluahpuia (2016) looks at how media engages with the issue of framing movements in states like Manipur. Providing a historical perspective of the conflict, the paper focuses on the

ethnic tensions in the region and the government's response to it. A substantial portion deals with how local media frames the conflict in the socio-political context of the state. The study demonstrates how media in Manipur is influenced by local politics and thus chooses its frames accordingly.

Daily newspaper articles

***How the Changing Media is Changing Terrorism*- Burke, Jason**

Burke examines how terrorist organizations like ISIS are exploiting modern media technology for the purposes of propaganda. Burke argues that the new trend of violent propaganda also needs to examine whether media itself is responsible for providing terrorism with the "oxygen of publicity". Article asserts that in recent years, entire cable and satellite TV channels have devoted solely to broadcasting clips of attacks on international or Iraqi government forces. Burke asserts that without the media, the influence of terrorists would not spread.

Manuals

1. *Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means (the TRANSCEND Method): A Manual Prepared for the United Nations Disaster Management Training Program* - Johan Galdung

This manual, based on the renowned sociologist Johan Galtung's concept of Sustainable Peace and the idea of Peace Journalism, it explains how media can be a partner in conflict transformation. The manual demonstrates how peace journalism contributes to conflict resolution. Defining conflict news as dramatic, negative and elitist, the manual focuses on capturing people's voices, defining peace, exploring conflict formation as the key responsibility of journalists.

2. *Reporting Atrocities: A Toolkit for Journalists Covering Conflict and Atrocities* - US Agency for International Development

The manual details the principles of conflict-sensitive journalism, specifying how reporters need to cover the most senseless violent acts so that such coverage helps in peacebuilding. It offers a theoretical background and practical framework for journalists reporting from the conflict zone.

Motivation and Relevance

As a journalist with more than two decades of experience, I have covered conflict issues and often questioned the limited range of narratives that media presents and the episodic coverage it offers. India has in the past and continues to face severe conflicts, some of which have been going on for over 50 years. It appears, Indian media has been largely used the prism of security in documenting the conflicts. Despite robust growth in news media, the potential of covering issues of conflict and development remains unrealised.

Today, media researchers are keenly debating the claims that media promotes or prevents conflicts. I want to study this phenomenon in greater detail, especially investigating the frameworks of reportage, and media's agency in the conflict zone of Jammu and Kashmir. A greater and wider examination is needed of the various factors and their interplay in covering the conflict zone. By studying the news frameworks, conducting content analysis and discourse analysis, this study aims to decipher patterns of reporting of the media that impact the course of conflict. Although there is some evidence of research examining how press (from India and Pakistan) has created a non-conducive environment for peace attempts in Kashmir, this is limited in analysing the scope of linkages between impact of reportage and conflict development. This study will help in also providing evidence if conflict reportage impacts conflict resolution. At present there are large gaps in research on the connection between media, conflict and mechanisms of resolution in a democracy. This study will offer new insight on this issue provide evidence if conflict reportage impacts conflict resolution. At present there are large gaps in research on the connection between media, conflict and mechanisms of resolution in a democracy.

Research gaps

In recent decades, there have been some attempts to study the relationship between media coverage and progress of conflict. There are however few studies exploring the relationship of media and conflict progress in India. Recent studies do not detail the frameworks for peace journalism in India. They are limited in establishing the linkages between impact of reportage and peace building.

Research Questions

The study will investigate the following questions:

1. What are the factors that determine the media policy and the resultant conflict coverage in J&K?
2. What kind of news frames are used and how are conflict issues amplified or diffused through such frameworks?
3. How far the news media coverage has influenced the course of the conflicts in J&K?

Hypotheses

The study will test the following hypotheses:

1. News media reportage of conflict zones in recent years in J&K has largely been decontextualised, episodic and securitised affecting neutrality.
2. Concerns about approval rating, financial accrual and political patronage determine media policy and coverage, which results in limited training and sensitisation for journalists in conflict reporting.
3. Insensitive and biased reporting contributes towards escalating conflict, perpetuating stereotypes and prejudices to some extent.

Plan of Work and Methodology

This is an exploratory study employs both deductive and inductive methods. It will use the recent debates on conflict reportage to create a theoretical framework to contextualise the study. Upon collecting all the possible relevant data, a generalisation on the role and impact of news organisations in constructing a narrative of conflict will be made.

News policy and frameworks of three publications (one Hindi and two English – Amar Ujjala (Jammu edition), Times of India (Delhi edition), Greater Kashmir (Srinagar edition) –

will be studied for their approach to conflict reportage during a specific period one year (2017). All these publications have large circulation and consistent readership. Various, significant news events within 2017 will be analysed for the research from the three different newspapers. A detailed questionaire driven interview will be undertaken to generate data on the media organisations' policy on conflict reportage, resources available, risk management, etc.

Two mainstream journalists covering Kashmir will be interviewed to examine their professional responsibilities, ethical commitment and occupational hazards.

The study will use documents published by the State Government of Jammu and Kashmir and the Government of the India and reports by various ministries and other archival materials to document the impact coverage on conflict resolution. In addition, secondary sources like books, journal articles, magazines, newspapers, and online sources will be employed in the study.

Work Plan

Phase	**Time duration**	**Work to be done/Chapters to be written**
1st	June –August 2018	Research on news frameworks, theoretical frameworks, make notes, Prepare for chapter 1 Introduction
2nd	September - November	Review of literature, Identify newspapers, journalists, Write Chapter 1: Introduction
3rd	December 2018 – February 2019	Review of Literature, interview journalists, Prepare Chapter 2,
4th	March – June	Write chapter 2: Review of Literature, Finish interviews, prepare chapter 3: Media and Conflict in India, Prepare questionnaire for newspapers
5th	July-October	Collect data, Analyse content, categorise data, chapter 4 : Frameworks and Practice

6th	November –December 2019	Chapter 5: Analyses Chapter 6: Conclusion Theses finalisation preparation, update bibliography
7th	January 2020-March 2020	Theses finalisation
8th	April –May 2020	Pre-submission seminar
9th	June 2020	Submission

Facilities Available at the place of Work

Primary data will be collected from different media houses and individuals. Secondary data can be resourced successfully from the place of work as a well equipped library (with sufficient information sources) and internet work stations available.

Limitations

1. This exploratory study may not offer definitive answers to the problem though it will deepen understanding of a particular aspect of media effect research.
2. Due to time constraint, a large study, including other media, cannot be undertaken. This may be limiting the scope of research. The time period which will be analysed is short in providing very comprehensive analysis of the news frameworks.

Bibliography

Books

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